

Message Text

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ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12 EUR-25

NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 IO-12 OIC-04 AEC-11

ACDA-19 OMB-01 RSR-01 /155 W
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P R 191244 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8918

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS 469

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 VIENNA 4205

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: MBFR: AD HOC GROUP MEETING MAY 18, 1973

1. SUMMARY: IN ITS MAY 18 MEETING AD HOC GROUP REACHED USABLE
COMPROMISE SOLUTION TO PROBLEM OF A WORKING GROUP FOR AGENDA
DISCUSSION; BELGIUM, NETHERLANDS AND CANADIAN REPS OFFERED TO
PRACTICE RESTRAINT AND ABSENT THEMSELVES FROM FIRST OR SECOND

MEETING OF GROUP, THUS ALLOWING GROUP COMPOSED OF ALLIED REPS TO
BE LESS THAN A COMPLETE GROUP OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AS WELL AS
SMALLER AND MORE EFFICIENT. THIS ELIMINATED TURKISH/ ITALIAN
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OBJECTIONS. PART OF COMPROMISE WAS THAT GROUP WOULD MEET ONLY A FEW TIMES AND THAT AGENDA WOULD ALSO BE DISCUSSED IN PLENARY. OPEN- ENDED DRAFTING GROUP MET AFTERNOON OF MAY 18 TO DRAFT TALKING POINTS FOR FIRST MEETING OF GROUP WITH EAST ON MAY 21. END SUMMARY.

2. CHAIRMAN (CONDE, PORTUGUESE REP) OPENED MEETING BY REFERRING GROUP TO WRITTEN REPORT OF MEETING OF EMISSARIES WITH SOVIETS ON MAY 17 (VIENNA 4148). NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES) EXPOUNDED ON THAT REPORT, ASKING GROUP IF THEY COULD SUPPORT THE AD REFERENDUM AGREEMENT REACHED AT THAT MEETING ON COMPOSTION OF AN INFORMAL WORKING GROUP. HE ADDED THAT THE TENTATIVE AGREEMENT TO ALSO HOLD ANOTHER PLENARY ON THE AGENDA SHOULD HELP ALLEVIATE THE CONCERNS OF THOSE WHO FEEL THE GROUP WOULD PLAY TOO LARGE A ROLE IN A AGENDA EXCHANGES. THE WORKING GROUP WOULD, HE SAID, MERELY PLAY A NECESSARY PREPARATORY ROLE FOR THE PLENARY SESSION.

3. BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENNSSEN) STATED THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE THE AGREEMENT IN THE REPORT WOULD SATISFY HIS INSTRUCTIONS WHICH HAD BEEN CONFIRMED THE MORNING OF MAY 18. HE REPEATED THAT HIS INSTRUCTIONS WERE THAT ONLY AN OPEN- ENDED WORKING GROUP, SIMILAR TO THE ONES AT THE CSCE, ALLOWINGALL PARTICIPANTS TO PARTICIPATE EQUALLY AT THEIR DESIRE WOULD MEET REQUIREMENTS OF HIS INSTRUCTIONS. BRUSSELS DID NOT WANT TO EXCLUDED HUNGARY OR RUMANIA FROM PARTICIATION IN DISCUSSION OF AGENDA. ANY NECESSARY DRAFTING COULD BE DONE IN THE LOBBIES. ADRIAENNSSEN NOTED THAT IF ANY OTHER KIND OF GROUP WAS FORMED, HE NOT ONLY COULD NOT PARTICIPATE, BUT WOULD BE FORCED, BY HIS INSTRUCTIONS, TO TABLE A DRAFT COMMUNIQUE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IN ORDER TO MOVE THE GROUP AWAY FROM AGENDA EXCHANGES. THE COMMUNIQUE HE HAD IN MIND WAS, HE REPORTED, ALONG LINES OF GERMAN DRAFT LANGUAGE EARLIER HANDED TO THE GROUP FOR DISCUSSION AND ALSO TOOK ADVANTAGES OFSOME POINTS MADE IN THE POLISH PRESENTATION ON AGENDA (VIENNA 4142).

4. UK REP (THOMSON) ASKED BELGIAN REP TO PLEASE CLAIRFIY WHAT HE MEANT BY TABLING A COMMUNIQUE. BELGIAN REP REPLIED NOTING THAT HE WAS INSTRUCTED TO MOVE THE GROUP AWAY FROM AGENDA DISCUSSIONS AND INTO A COMMUNIQUE DRAFTING PROCESS IN PLENARY IF A RESTRICTED WORKING GROUP WAS ESTABLISHED ON THE AGENDA. HE ADDED THAT HE WAS ANXIOUS TO HEAR THE RESPONSE OF OTHER MEMBERS OF THE GROUP TO HIS INSTRUC-TIONS.

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5. TURKISH REP (TULUMEN) STATED THAT WORKIG GROUP DESCRIBED IN THE MAY 17 EMISSARIES/ SOVIET MEETING WOULD ALSO NOT MEET HIS

REQUIREMENTS. HE ADDED THAT HE HAD TALKED WITH POLISH REP (STRULAK) AND SOVIET REP (TIMERBAYEV) AT THE PLENARY ON MAY 17 AND FOUND THEM VERY FLEXIBLE AND OPEN ON THEIR APPROACH TO THE AGENDA HE SAID THEY BOTH APPEARED WILLING TO DEAL WITH THE AGENDA EITHER BY THE OLD EMISSARY SYSTEM, THROUGH PLENARIES, OR IN A WORKING GROUP. THE POLISH REP HAD FURTHER NOTED THAT HE SAW NO WAY THE EAST WOULD BE ABLE TO AGREE TO THE DETAILED TYPE OF AGENDA PRESENTED BY THE WEST, BUT THAT A WAY TO A SOLUTION MIGHT BE TO PUT SOME GENERAL POINTS

ALONG AGENDA LINES IN A COMMUNIQUE. TURKISH REP AGREED WITH BELGIAN REP THAT IT MIGHT THEREFORE BE WISE TO MOVE RIGHT TO COMMUNIQUE DRAFTING IN PLENARIES.

6. US REP SUGGESTED THE GROUP SEPARATE THEIR DISCUSSIONS INTO TWO DISTINCT ISSUES, ONE TO DECIDE THE VEHICLE FOR HANDLING AGENDA DISCUSSIONS, IN PLENARIES OR WORKING GROUPS, AND THE OTHER THE MORE SUBSTANTIVE QUESTION OF WHEN THE AGENDA PROBE MIGHT BE TERMINATED AND HOW ALLIED AGENDA POSITIONS MIGHT BE PRESERVED IN THE COMMUNIQUE. HE SUGGESTED THE CURRENT DISCUSSION BE LIMITED TO DEFINING THE VEHICLE FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE EAST.

7. ITALIAN REP (PTERIGNANI) JOINED BELGIAN AND TURKISH REPS IN DECLARING THE MAY 17 WORKING GROUP PROPOSAL AS NOT MEETING HIS REQUIREMENTS. HE ARGUED THAT THE PROPOSAL WOULD CREAT A QUITE FORMAL GROUP, WITH LITTLE FLEXIBILITY; INDEED ALMOST A SOVIET VETO OVER ANY CHANGES TO EVEN THE WEST' S COMPOSTION IN THE GROUP. HE STATED THAT THE OPEN ENDED GROUP DESCRIBED BY THE BELGIUM REP MERITED SERIOUS CONSIDERATION. ALSO THE IDEA OF PROCEEDING QUICKLY AND IN PLENARY TO THE COMMUNIQUE DRAFTING DESERVED SERIOUS CONSIDERATION. HE CONCLUDED BY NOTING THAT HE WAS IMPRESSED WITH SOME OF THE REMARKS ON AGENDA MADE BY THE ROMANIAN REP, PARTICULARLY THE COMMENTS ON DEMOBILIZATION FOR FORCES REMOVED. THE ITALIAN REP FELT THAT ROMANIAN CONCERN WAS CLEARLY AIMED AT SOVIET FORCES.

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P R 191244 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8919

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MBFR CAPITALS 470

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

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GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

8. FRG DEP REP, (HOFMANN) NOTED THAT HE CONSIDERED THE PROPOSAL FOR A WORKING GROUP THAT CAME OUT OF THE MAY 17 EMISSARIES MEETING TO BE VERY CLOSE TO WAHT A GROUP CONSENSUS CONSIDERED ACCEPTABLE IN THE MAY 17 AD HOC GROUP MEETING. HE NOTED THAT THE GROUP HAD RE-QUIRED A FLEXIBLE, INFORMAL GROUP, THAT CREATED NO PRECEDENT, WAS OPEN TO CHANGE IN COMPOSITION, AND COULD INCLUDE SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS. FRGDEP RP BELIEVED THE PROPOSED GROUP MET IN SOME DEGREE ALL OF THESE QUALIFICATIONS. HE ARGUED AGAINST THE BELIGAIN REP' S SUGGESTION THAT A WORKING GROUP WAS NOT NEEDED AND THATTHE GROUP COULD MOVE RIGHT TO DRAFTING OF A FINAL COMMUNIQUE. INF ACT, HE FELT, A WORKING GROUP WAS DEFINITELY REQUIRED TO FOLLOW UP ON THE PLENARY AGENDA PRESENTATIONS ON MAY 17. OTHERWISE, THE

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WHOLE PROCESS WOULD GET BOGGED DOWN IN DELAY.

9. CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) COMMENTED THAT HE COULDSEE GROUNDS FOR MISUNDERSTANDING OF WHETHER THE PROPOSED GROUP FULLY MET THE CRITERIA

AGEEED ON BY THE AAD HOC GROUP ON MAY 17 OR NOT SINCE THAT DAY HAD RESULTED IN A MOST COMPLEX AND CONFUSING DISCUSSIONS. HOWEVER, HE JOINED THOSE WHO FAVORED THE CREATION OF A WORKING GROUP AND THOUGHT THE PROPOSED ONE APPROXIMATELY MET THE NEEDS OF THE AD HOC GROUP. HE EMPHASIZED THAT SINCE THE WORKING GROUPWOULD OB-VIOUSLY BE IN USE FOR ONLY A VERY SHORT TIME, THE MEMBERS OF THE AD HOC GROUP COULD ACCEPT MODIFICATIONS TO THE DESIRED FORMAT FOR THE GROUP.

10. UK REP ASKED THE EMISSARIES IF HE WAS NOT ACCURATE IN REMEMBERING THAT THE SOVIETS HAD PREVIOUSLY AGREED THAT THE

WORKING

GROUP COULD MEET DAILY IF NECESSARY. US/ NETHERLANDS EPS AGREED THAT THE SOVIETS HAD SAID THEY WOULD MEET DAILY.

11. TURKISH REP THEN REPEATED HIS OPPOSITION TO THE PROPOSED GROUP. HE REPEATED HIS IMPRESSION THAT THE OTHER SIDE WAS WILLING TO ADDRESS THE AGENDA VIA VEHICLES OTHER THAN WORKING GROUPS. HE WARNED THAT HE FELT THE WEST HAD MORE TO LOSE THAN GAIN VIA THE CREATION OF SUCH A WORKING GROUP AND REPEATED HIS SUPPORT FOR THE BELGIAN PROPOSAL TO MOVE QUICKLY TO COMMUNIQUE DRAFTING IN PLEANARIES.

12. NETHERLANDS REP STATED THAT ALL NEEDED TO BE MORE FLEXIBLE AND EXERCISE SOME RESTRAINT. HE SAID THAT IF IT WOULD HELP, THE NETHERLANDS WAS ON OCCASION WILLING TO PASS UP REPRESENTATION IN THE WORKING GROUP IF THIS STEP WOULD HELP IN REACHING A DECISION. HE ADDED THAT HE SUPPORTED THE IDEA OF FURTHER DISCUSSION OF AGENDA IN PLENARIES, BUT FELT A WORKING GROUP WOULD STILL BE REQUIRED TO SMOOTH OUT THE DETAILS AND INSURE THAT THE PLENARY DISCUSSION WAS USEFUL.

13. UK REP GAVE A LONG INTERVENTION IN WHICH HE NOTED THAT HE HAD TRULY PREFERRED A WORKING GROUP FOR AGENDA EXCHANGES BUT HAD RECENTLY BEEN CONCERNED THAT AD HOC GROUP AGREEMENT ON THE GROUP DID NOT APPEAR TO BE FORTHCOMING. HE WAS FURTHER CONCERNED THAT TIME WAS BEING LOST, AND HE

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WAS NOW READY TO TURN TO THE PLENARY ROUTE, CUMBERSOME AS IT MAY BE, UNLESS THE GROUP FELT THEY COULD REACH AGREEMENT RIGHT WAY ON THE COMPOSITION AND MANDATE OF A WORKING GROUP. HE AGREED THAT PRINCIPLES, IMPORTANT PRINCIPLES, WE INVOLVED IN THE CREATION OF THE GROUP, BUT FELT IT WAS MORE IMPORTANT TO GET TO THE SUBSTANCE OF NAC INSTRUCTIONS, TO RAPIDLY CONCLUDE AGENDA EXCHANGES AND MOVE TO COMMUNIQUE DRAFTING. HE PREFERRED A PLENARY TREATMENT OF AGENDA TO THE OPEN- ENDED WORKING GROUP PROPOSED BY THE BELGIAN REP.

14. FRG DEP REP NOTED THAT THE MAY 17 WORKING GROUP PROPOSAL WAS INDEED A COMPROMISE BUT THAT HE SAW NO SOLUTION AT HAND TO MODIFY IT. IT SEEMED TO HIM TO OFFER, AS THE UK REP WAS ADVOCATING, THE MORE EXPEDITIOUS ROUTE FOR MOVING ON. HE ADDED THAT IT MIGHT PROVE EMBARRASSING TO HAVE TO TELL THE SOVIETS THAT WE NOW PREFERRED TO HANDLE THE AGENDA SOLELY IN PLENARIES. IT WOULD BE OBVIOUS TO THEM THEN THAT THE ALLIES HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO AGREE ON REPRESENTATION IN THE WORKING GROUP. HE SUGGESTED THE GROUP SERIOUSLY DETERMINE THE EXACT SIZE, COMPOSITION, PLACE OF MEETING, AND APPROACHES TO BE USED IN THE PROPOSED MAY 21 WORKING GROUP MEETING.

15. NETHERLANDS REP DESCRIBED A ROOM AVAILABLE IN THE IAEA BUILDING FOR USE BY THE WORKING GROUP. FRG DEP REP SUGGESTED THE DELEGATES SHOULD USE RESTRAINT IN THE NUMBER ATTENDING THE MEETING AND ADDED THAT FRG WOULD GLADLY FOREGO ANY NEED FOR TRANSLATION IN GERMAN AT THE MEETING--THUS MAKING IT LESS FORMALIZED.

16. TURKISH REP ATTEMPTED TO FOLLOW UP UK REP'S SUGGESTION OF REVERTING TO PLENARIES. HE ARGUED IT WOULD NOT AT ALL BE EMBARRASSING TO BACK AWAY FROM AN AD REFERENDUM AGREEMENT ON A WORKING GROUP, AND THAT THE PLENARIES WOULD BE THE MOST EXPEDITIOUS ROUTE FOR AGENDA AND THEN COMMUNIQUE DISCUSSIONS. HE DESCRIBED THE UK SUGGESTION AS THE ONLY WAY OUT OF THE DILEMMA AND STATED HE WOULD NOT COOPERATE IN ANYTHING ELSE.

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P R 191244 Z MAY 73
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MBFR CAPITALS 471
USMISSION GENEVA
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GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

17. NETHERLANDS REP SUGGESTED THAT THE GROUP COULD USE THE WORKING GROUP ONCE JUST TO PREPARE FOR TREATMENT OF AGENDA IN PLENARIES. US REP FOLLOWED UP THIS SUGGESTION ASKING IF BELGIAN REP FELT HIS AUTHORITIES COULD SUPPORT A WORKING GROUP MEETING ON A ONE TIME TRIAL BASIS, BELGIAN REP REPLIED THAT HE COULD NOT PARTICIPATE BUT WOULD NOT BLOCK SUCH A MEETING. US REP MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE WAS NOT ADVOCATING THE WORKING GROUP APPROACH OVER THE PLENARY APPROACH OR VICE VERSA, INDEED HE WAS MERELY LOOKING FOR AN ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION FOR ALL. NETHERLANDS REP THEN BROKE THE DEADLOCK BY REPEATING HIS WILLINGNESS TO NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE MEETING. US REP POINTED OUT THAT BOTH BELGIAN AND NETHERLANDS

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REPS HAD NOW VOLUNTARILY ABSTAINED. THIS WOULD PRODUCE A GROUP OF FOUR. THIS SOLUTION WOULD GIVE ITALY AND TURKEY

WHAT THEY HAD BEEN ASKING FOR FROM THE OUTSET, A SLIGHTLY EXPANDED EMISSARY CHANNEL. US REP SUGGESTED AD HOC GROUP EXPRESS ITS THANKS TO BOTH BELGIAN AND NETHERLANDS REPS WHO HAD IN THEIR DIFFERENT WAYS MADE POSSIBLE THIS CONSTRUCTIVE OUTCOME. CHAIRMAN ASKED IF THERE WERE ANY WORKING GROUP FOR ONE OR TWO MEETINGS (MINUS NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM) AND THERE WERE NONE. CANADIAN REP SAID HE WOULD ABSTAIN FROM PARTICIPATING IN SECOND SESSION TO SHOW SAME SPIRIT AND TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO HAVE SOME ROTATION. ITALIAN AND TURKISH REPS JOIN IN PRAISE OF NETHERLANDS, BELGIAN AND CANADIAN REPS FOR ENABLING THE DEADLOCK TO BE BROKEN.

18. US REP ELABORATED ON CONCEPT OF TWO WORKING GROUP MEETINGS BEFORE PLENARY. HE SUGGESTED IT WOULD BE ADVANTAGEOUS TO BE ABLE TO TURN TO COMMUNIQUE WORK AT THE PLENARY. AND THAT IT WOULD TAKE AT LEAST TWO MEETINGS TO LAY SUCH GROUNDWORK. HE NOTED THAT THE SOVIET REPS NORMALLY BECAME SUSPICIOUS AND RIGID IF THE GROUND WAS SHIFTED ON THEM TOO QUICKLY. GROUP AGAIN DID NOT OBJECT AND MEETING WAS DIRECTED TO DISCUSS TALKING POINTS FOR THE WORKING GROUP MEETING AS PREPARED BY US AND UK DELEGATIONS. US PROPOSAL WAS FOR ONE REPRESENTATIVE TO GIVE IN ONE PRESENTATION ALL OF THE BRIEF FOLLOW- ON STATEMENTS THAT HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN DESIGNED TO ELABORATE ON THE WEST'S OPENING AGENDA STATEMENT. THAT STATEMENT WOULD BE USEFUL IN ASSURING THAT THE EAST WAS FULLY AWARE OF THE MEANING OF ALL OF THE WEST'S AGENDA PROPOSALS AND THUS BETTER PROTECT THE WEST'S POSITION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE US REP ALSO SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS THAT COMMENT ON AND ASKED QUESTIONS ABOUT THE EAST'S AGENDA PROPOSALS AND WERE DESIGNED TO SET THE STAGE FOR TRANSITION FROM AGENDA DISCUSSIONS TO COMMUNIQUE DRAFTING AND A GENERAL DESCRIPTION. US REP POINTED OUT THAT SUCH AN APPROACH COULD HELP THE EAST TO EXPLAIN TO THEIR AUTHO-

RITIES THE TURN FROM AN AGREED AGENDA TO A DESCRIPTION IN THE COMMUNIQUE AS A SUCCESS FOR THEM IN WINNING THE WEST OVER TO THE APPROACH DESCRIBED IN THE 17 MAY PLENARY BY THE EAST GERMAN REP. UK PAPERS HAD SIMILAR OBJECTIVES AND IT WAS AGREED THAT AN OPEN- ENDED DRAFTING GROUP WOULD

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MEET IN THE AFTERNOON AND ATTEMPT TO BLEND THE VARIOUS PAPERS TOGETHER.

19. FRG AND CANADIAN REPS SUGGESTED THAT THE STATEMENT DESIGNED TO GIVE ELABORATION TO THE WEST'S AGENDA PROPOSALS ALSO BE PRESENTED OR DISTRIBUTED IN THE PLENARY. GROUP AGREED IT SHOULD, AT A MINIMUM BE DISTRIBUTED AT NEXT PLENARY.

20. FRG REP REPORTED TO GROUP THAT HE HAD RECEIVED CONFIRMATION FROM HIS EMBASSY IN MOSCOW THAT FRG WAS CURRENTLY LISTED ON OFFICIAL DIPLOMATIC LISTS THERE UNDER " G " AND HAD BEEN SINCE THEIR MISSION HAD OPENED. HE NOTED THAT WHAT KHLESTOV HAD SAID ON THIS POINT WAS NOT TRUE.

21. GROUP AGREED TO NEXT MEETING AT 0930 ON MAY 21.

22. COMMENT: ONLY UK, FRG, CANADA AND NETHERLANDS APPEARED AT OPEN- ENDED DRAFTING GROUP LATER SAME DAY. BELGIAN REP HAD BONA FIDE APPOINTMENT WITH AUSTRIANS. WE BELIEVE OUTCOME OF LENGTHY WRANGLE ON HOW TO EXPAND NETHERLANDS- US EMISSARY SYSTEM HAS BEEN USEFUL AND HAS PRODUCES CONFIGURATION OF US, UK, FRG PLUS REVOLVING MEMBER FROM BENELUX AND CANADA WHICH CAN BE USED LATER WHEN THERE IS NEED. IDEAL CONFIGURATION WOULD HAVE BEEN US AND ONE OTHER, BUT NEITHER UK NOR FRG WERE WILLING TO CEDE. THERE MAY BE SOME REACTION FROM BELGIANS, BUT ALLIED FLANKS ARE SATISFIED WITH PRESENT DRAFTING PANEL, WHILE ALL MEMBERS OF AD HOC GROUP EXCEPT BELGIAN CONSIDER BELGIAN PROPOSAL FOR COMING TO GRIPS WITH COMMUNIQUE THROUGH USE OF PLENARY ALONG TO BE UNWORKABLE. TO EXTENT THAT BELGIANS CONSIDER REAL WORK WILL BE DONE IN CORRIDORS OUTSIDE PLENARIES, THEY MERELY REPOSE THE POINT THAT THERE HAS TO BE SOME SMALLER WORKING GROUP WITHOUT SPECIFYING WHO THIS WOULD BE.

23. ACTION REQUESTED: NETHERLANDS REP QUARLES RESOLVED DEADLOCK BY EXCELLENT SENSE OF TIMING AND WILLINGNESS TO PUT ALLIANCE INTERESTS FIRST. WOULD BE HIGHLY DESIRABLE IF DEPARTMENT AND EMBASSY HAGUE COULD PASS ALONG INFORMAL WORD OF APPRECIATION FOR QUARLES' VALUABLE AND HIGHLY PROFESSIONAL CONTRIBUTION.

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